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dangerous than badness. Montaigne's indictment should be less and less justifiable. The Hebrew's appeal to the heart must be enriched by the Greek's appeal to the head. The Church will lose nothing by aiming for facts and results. In his book "Can We Still Be Christians?" Eucken says: "Finally, the Church must become a repository of the facts and tasks of life itself." If only this work can be enlivened with imagination, can oppose "to limitation, infinity; to time, eternity," then the Church may become "the supreme power of life, able to subdue and annihilate all opposition, and strengthen everything with which it allies itself." Religion is a common interest of human kind, but the growing world requires a growing interpretation. This interpretation will be forthcoming from the Church again if only it have within it the seeds of life, if only it show to men how "peace shall be made as handsome as war." "As in the roaring loom of time the endless web of events is woven," the challenge to the Church is to see that each strand shall "make more and more clearly visible the living garment of God."

THE PAN SLAV DRIVE AGAINST AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

A NEW attack upon Austria-Hungary is being launched from Italy, and one that would seem to promise more for the successful termination of the war than any yet put forth by our plucky Ally. Just what its present state of progress and what its immediate effects are cannot be exactly determined. It is possible only to perceive a few broad outlines in the news that sifts through, and to fill in the picture as best one may from possibilities and probabilities as these are indicated. The result, however, is not unhopeful in appearance. The secret of this new attack lies in the possible co-operation of the Italians and Slavs against the joint enemy, and in the fact that, in Agram, in Prague, in Milan, and Rome, opinion seems to be veering to the winds of a keener diplomacy than that, for instance, revealed in certain recently disclosed secret treaties. The diplomacy of greedy suspicion and distrustful isolation is giving place to the diplomacy of co-operation for mutual welfare and of conciliation of conflicting desires. This new attitude is not yet taken with entire definiteness on Italy's part, but that it is a fact of the near future is indicated in many ways. Perhaps the strongest indication is in the action of the sturdy Nationalist journal in Rome, *Idea Nazionale*. This paper in 1915 came out flat-footedly against the Slovene-Serbo-Croat "Pact of Corfu," whereas it now declares its belief that "serious differences" between the

Italian and the Southern Slav do not exist today. This reversal from stern condemnation of Slavic aims to an acceptance of a possible Slavic state as fellow-warrior of the Adriatic may be roughly accounted for by three different circumstances: The actual conception of such a Southern Slav state in the "Pact of Corfu"; recent heavy Italian reverses in the north; and indications that Austria-Hungary, the indispensable factor in Germany's *Mittel-Europa* scheme, is approaching and may be pushed to the verge of dissolution.

In July, 1915, representatives of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, of whom the large majority dwell in lands under the dominion of Austria-Hungary, and some fifty thousand under Italian rule, met in Corfu and drew up a so-called treaty, which declared the foundation of "the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes," "a free and independent kingdom, whose territory shall be indivisible," this territory to extend over all those lands upon which the triune nationals were in 1914 living in compact masses. A glance at the ethnographical map shows this territory to be, roughly, that bounded on the north by the Drave River, on the west by the Isonzo and the Adriatic (excluding the immediate neighborhood of Trieste and Gorizia and the western half of the Istrian peninsula), on the south by the pre-war boundaries of New Serbia, and on the east by the Danube and the Drave. It is a territory estimated to include about fifty million people, somewhat larger in population than Italy, and a bit over two-thirds the area. It is true that this nation so far exists only on paper, but it is also true that these three peoples, who in reality were some four hundred years ago one people, have common strong nationalistic aspirations and a strong distaste for Austrian and Magyar domination. There is ample cohesive force among them and a strong tendency to evolve a state independent of Austria-Hungary and, if so evolved, one which would inevitably have a material effect one way or another upon Italy.

In 1915 Italy was apparently devoted to dreams of an Adriatic monopoly, and was lured by the tinsel hope of regaining not merely the shores of the Gulf of Venice, Fiume and the Quernerian islands; not only the Istrian and Dalmatian territories of Venice, of 1789; but even perhaps the northern limits of the "Kingdom" of 1810, with "Illyriam" thrown in. To a nation cherishing such dreams, the "Pact of Corfu" came as anything but a welcome awakening. It aroused little perceptible enthusiasm in Italy and much resentment. Those there were undoubtedly who understood the strategy of a Pan Slavia, or at least of a Southern Slav wedge thrust into the heart of Austria-Hungary, but the nation as a whole, then triumphantly urging its way in the Alps

and zealously pounding Gorizia, saw only a troublesome claimant to the "spoils of victory" in the newly conceived State. It needed perhaps the tremendous reverse of November, 1917, to induce more reasoned thought, and the failure of military tactics to turn the attention to diplomatic strategy. Certainly, since those difficult days near the close of last year we have heard more and more from Rome and Milan of the possibilities of Italian and Southern Slav co-operation. Among the forces deliberately turned in this direction must be rated highly the good work done by the Rome *Corriere della Sera* and the Milan *Il Socolo*, as well as several other journals; and it is bearing fruit. A most conspicuous result is the success attending the sessions of the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities at Rome, of which a brief account will be found on another page. At this congress a scheme of co-operation was definitely worked out. Moreover, to illustrate the extent of the forces that are working in this new strategy, at this same congress were heard the pleas of Poland, of Roumania, of Bohemia, and of the Slovak peoples. For a time, at least, Rome had all the appearance of an asylum for the oppressed races of the Balkan Peninsula and of Austria-Hungary, with every indication that as public opinion became better informed an alliance would naturally evolve that would go far towards spelling the doom of Germany's chief ally. A glimpse of the possible strength of such a coalition is given by a prominent Tzech leader, Dr. Benes, writing some time ago in the Paris paper, *Nation Tzecque*. He here declared that were the Southern Slavs, the Poles, and the Italians to work out a real alliance on the basis of a close sincere and democratic agreement they would represent a force of one hundred million people, united upon the important demand for a dismembered Austria-Hungary.

As we have said, just what is going on in the Dual Monarchy is difficult to ascertain. One must take with many reservations reports circulated in the allied press of disintegration there. The story, for instance, of crowds of thousands of persons gathered on the streets of Prague in the second week of April, denouncing the Germans and cheering President Wilson, may be true or it may not. Of such reports received at this time, even though appearing in the German press, we can take no more than tentative cognizance. But there are other indications to which we can perhaps more safely lend our attention, and upon them build some structure of reasonable conjecture. The statement made by Dr. Benes that all the nationalities in Austria-Hungary are impatiently awaiting Italy's call to a glorious *risorgimento* is, for example, very well substantiated in an

article appearing in the Prague paper *Narodni Listy* of March 6. This great Tzech journal, discussing a conference held in Vienna on the previous day between representatives of the Tzech Union, the Jugo-Slav group, and the Polish Kolo, declared that "the Tzecho-Slovak nation would greet with joy the victory of the Slav idea in Polish politics, and the united front of the three Western Slav nations. . . . All these three nations have the same ideal: national unity and independence on the basis of self-determination." Declaring that only the existence of Austria-Hungary alone made it possible for Germany to defy the world, this paper gives the following brief summary of the situation, in which it may well be seen what part Italy may play if it so chooses:

The real significance of this movement may be grasped only if we consider that the aim of the Germans is to establish an empire extending from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf. The main body of this empire would be a German Central Europe (*Mittel-Europa*) in which the 70,000,000 dominant Germans would either directly or indirectly control, with the aid of the Magyars, Bulgars and Turks, about 100,000,000 Slavs and Latins. The crucial point lies in Austria-Hungary, where the German-Magyar minority rules and exploits 30,000,000 Slavs and Latins with the support of Germany. This state of affairs Germany wants to preserve at any price. Belgium, Poland, Roumania, and Serbia would be reduced to political impotence and economic dependence upon Pan-Germany, while the Russian Baltic provinces and the Ukraine would serve as a base for German economic penetration and exploitation.

Against this scheme, the Slavs and Latins of Central Europe propose a new international system in Central Europe by which the allied ideas of justice and national self-determination would be vindicated, and Germany prevented from repeating her present exploits. The Slavs realize today that it was only lack of co-operation which, in the past, enabled the Germans and Magyars, who were in the minority, to rule them.

The *Narodni Listy* states, and we may well believe, that there are but two choices, either a *Mittel-Europa* sooner or later for Germany, or else the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and the creation of a New Poland, a Tzecho-Slovak state, and a southern Slav kingdom. The importance of this for us now is that we may watch and study this new development; that we may appreciate the more idealistic form that Italy's present strategy is taking, a form closely in harmony with American ideals; and that we may discover as we can whether or not the contention of the Slavs is a true one, that Europe cannot continue with these Slavic nations under the control or even as protectorates of Austria-Hungary. The Slavs insist that the establishment of these oppressed nations as free and independent states furnishes the key to some of the greatest problems of this war and of the future peace. Americans should watch developments in that quarter with no little interest.